

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Political Campaign Getting Under Way

Dropping of "New Deal" Label by Roosevelt Will Not Eliminate Issue

## DOMESTIC REFORMS STUDIED

Will Loom Large in Campaign Since Both Parties Agree on Major Items of Foreign Policy

The United States is the only large nation in the world which holds elections as usual when in the midst of war, with all the customary political trimmings. At the beginning of 1944, as we approach the climax of the greatest war of all time, we approach also a presidential election. It is still 10 months away, but the early skirmishes of the political campaign are already contending for public interest with the events of the war.

The first days of the year have witnessed a lively controversy over the New Deal. President Roosevelt set it off with the statement that he would like to drop the label "New Deal," which has been associated with his policies throughout his administration. He now prefers such a slogan as "Win the War." He says that the New Deal program was a good one but that it is substantially completed; that the ills of the nation which were so serious during the 1930's have been cured and that other problems have arisen. Therefore, we do not need more laws such as those enacted during the thirties, laws to which the "New Deal" label was attached. We should turn our attention to the war and the problems which will come out of it.

### Shift of Emphasis

It is only fair to Mr. Roosevelt to assume that he might have made this statement even if he were not thinking of political effects. No one questions his intense concern over the conduct of the war. Most of his time has, of necessity, been devoted to that task. It is almost inevitable, under the circumstances, that his interests should have shifted somewhat from the domestic problems with which he has heretofore been concerned.

It is equally inevitable that, with the approach of the coming election, political considerations cannot be wholly forgotten, and the President's appeal for the focusing of attention upon the war would seem, from his standpoint, to be good politics. By and large, the President's conduct of the war has won the confidence of the American people.

Not only is the President freely praised for the conduct of the war, but his international policies at present are widely approved. There is no sharp issue in American politics on questions of international policy. Issues will, of course, develop, but they are not yet clear. It follows, therefore, that if the President were being judged solely on the basis of

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Looks like rain, doesn't it?

## Preparing for Peace

By Walter E. Myer

In the current issue of the magazine *Look* there appears a symposium in which a number of columnists, radio commentators, war correspondents, and governmental leaders offer their predictions of what will happen in 1944. Among these experts there is agreement on one point. They all think that Germany will be defeated before the close of 1944 and that the war in Europe will end.

Less pleasant to contemplate are certain other predictions. Most of the men whose views were canvassed paint an alarming picture of conditions which will prevail in Europe at the close of the war. They foresee famine, civil war, revolution, hatreds, and terror. "Civil war in the Reich and terrorization of the conquered peoples," says Pierre Van Patten, "will surpass in horror anything ever witnessed on the European continent." Edward R. Murrow thinks that "events following Germany's collapse will prove that the war has shattered the political, social, and economic fabric of Europe." Larry Lesueur predicts that "armed bands of unemployed and hungry will not stop throughout Europe." It is Senator Ball's opinion that "the Allies will not be completely prepared for the surrender and will encounter serious difficulties, including bitterly contending factions striving for postwar power." Edgar A. Mowrer foresees civil war and revolution, and thinks that dislike of the United States and Britain will spread through Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

A prediction which challenges the attention of all thoughtful Americans is made by Leland Stowe, who says: "Europe will experience the greatest orgy of mass vengeance—and ruthless execution of justice—ever recorded in modern times. Europe as a whole will take a broad step to left of center, politically, after the war. Neither our people nor our government will know what to make of this new Europe. This will heighten escapism and isolationism. 1944 will bring us a great victory, dizzy spells, and a bitter presidential election. It will find us ill prepared to contribute adequately to the winning of the peace."

It will be one of the greatest tragedies of all time if we are not prepared for peace when it comes, if we are not ready to exert a powerful influence for progress, stability, and a healing peace. But if we are to help build a safer world we must understand that world. We must know what conditions are like in the various nations, what problems the people face, what must be done to help establish order, peace, and security. This calls for study and thought. No clearer responsibility rests upon any citizen than that he study realistically the problems of the postwar world and that he be prepared to support promising programs of national and international action. This is a responsibility which no student can patriotically neglect.

## Japan's Outlook for 1944 Is Not Bright

Allied Offensives in the Pacific Gain Speed and Decisive Battles Are Imminent

### TOKYO IS STILL FAR OFF

Reopening of Certain Chinese Ports Expected to be a Major Allied Goal in Months Ahead

The coming months will see an increased tempo in the war against Japan. That is as certain as will be the attempt to knock Germany out of the war this year. Few military observers believe that the Pacific war can end in 1944 but great strides toward Tokyo will be made before the end of the year. The grand strategy was undoubtedly worked out at the Cairo conference by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Details were discussed by Generals Marshall and MacArthur at their meeting in the southwest Pacific, and the months ahead will see the unfolding of these plans.

How can we defeat Japan? A hasty glance at the map on page 7 will show the problems to be faced—the tremendous distances to be covered, the problems of transporting and supplying men at points thousands of miles away, the hundreds of island fortresses now in Japanese hands, the difficulties of establishing effective contact with Chinese forces on the Asiatic mainland. These are but a few of the obstacles standing in the way.

### Many Fronts

It is agreed by certain high-ranking military leaders—men such as General Chennault, in charge of our air forces in China, and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet—that the final blows against Japan will come from China. As Admiral Nimitz expressed it recently: "My opinion is that Japan will be defeated from China."

But it is one thing to agree that Japan will be defeated from China and another to make and carry out the plans to accomplish that result. At present we are unable to get weapons of war into China except by air because all the Chinese ports are in Japanese hands, making it impossible for us to get adequate supplies into China. Thus, it is likely that one of our objectives this year will be to open a port in southeast China through which the needed supplies may enter China.

Our forces which have been chipping away at the outer defenses of Japan's empire are nowhere near the point where they may make a direct assault against the China coast. We have indeed, as Secretary of War Stimson remarked recently, cracked the outer arc of Japan's defense with our victories of the last year, and

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## Bolivian Upheaval

**N**ews from Bolivia may not seem very important to most of us; not when compared with the reports which are coming from Russia, Italy, the southwest Pacific, and other battle fronts. But Bolivian events of the last three weeks do not seem trivial to our State Department or to anyone who studies carefully our relations with the Latin American republics.

A government friendly to the United States was overthrown by the revolution which occurred a few days before Christmas, and in its place there was set up a government which looks very much like the pro-fascist regime in Argentina. We should, of course, be careful about jumping to conclusions. The situation at La Paz, capital of Bolivia, is complex. We do not know yet just what the policies of the new government will be. We must watch and wait, as our State

and to our government as well, like a good bargain all around.

But to some Bolivians the bargain did not look so good. A good many of them honestly fear the influence of the United States. They think that when American investors own a large share of Bolivian industry, Bolivia loses part of its independence. They think that this gives the U. S. government an excuse to protect American interests and to exert an influence in Bolivia. They fear what they call "Yankee Imperialism."

Such fears are encouraged by Germans in Bolivia. Many of the merchants of La Paz are Germans. They have considerable influence. The army officers in Bolivia, as in several other South American countries, admire the German army and are friendly to the Nazis.

Then there is the influence of Argentina. The common people of that country are not pro-Nazi or anti-United States. But the country is ruled by a fascist dictatorship. This fascist government, intensely nationalistic, is determined that Argentina shall be a great power, drawing other South American countries under its influence.

The Argentine government is alarmed because of the aid we are giving Brazil. We are helping to build Brazilian industries. With our support, Brazil is arming heavily. Argentina does not want to see a strong Brazil under United States influence.

### Argentina's Policy

So Argentina is now cultivating the friendship of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. She is flattering the Brazilians, trying to draw them away from us. Later she hopes to bring other countries under her influence. She plans that sometime all tariff walls in South America may be broken down, and that a South American union or confederation may be formed—a power as strong as the United States, associating more closely with Europe than with this country.

For some time there has been a pro-fascist, pro-Argentina, anti-United States clique in Bolivia, plotting to get control of the government. It was called the National Revolutionary Movement, and was led by a college professor, Victor Paz Estensoro. Many of the country's army officers were in this group.

Like fascist parties all over the world, this movement claimed to be working for the interests of the common people. It promised to redress their grievances, and unfortunately they have many grievances. Nearly



Southern Cross  
LEWIS IN MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Department is doing. But certain background facts will help us to understand Bolivian developments.

The president who was overthrown, Enrique Penaranda, favored close cooperation with the United States. He was glad to have capitalists from the United States invest money in the tin and copper mines of Bolivia. Assisted by capital from this country, he encouraged the development of Bolivian resources. He sought to increase the production of rubber, quinine, nitrates, tungsten, and other articles. He encouraged the sale to the United States of such of these products as we desired. He tried to keep essential war materials from reaching the Germans. When he found that some of these materials were getting to the Nazis by way of Argentina and Spain, he undertook to stop the traffic. In order to carry out his program more effectively he last month took Bolivia into the war on our side.

President Penaranda did not follow this policy because he loved the United States particularly, but because he thought Bolivia would be more prosperous if she lined up with us. Our money would help develop the country and our markets would take Bolivian products. This would make the mine and farm owners of Bolivia, in whom Penaranda was interested, prosperous and it would bring revenue to the government. Friendship between the United States and Bolivia looked to him,



La Paz, capital of Bolivia

all of them are desperately poor. Nearly half the miners receive less than 50 cents a day. Only about one in 20 gets more than a dollar a day. And during the war the cost of living has gone up, so that the workers are in a desperate condition.

President Penaranda did not seem greatly concerned about the plight of the workers. A year ago there was a strike in the mines at Catavi, owned by Simon Patino, Bolivia's "tin king." Penaranda used the army to break the strike. The soldiers fired on the strikers, killing and wounding scores of them. This incident, known as the "Catavi Massacre," caused widespread resentment against Penaranda and his government.

Estensoro and his followers took advantage of this discontent. They claimed that they would improve living standards if they came into power. They condemned the mine owners and particularly Americans owning property in Bolivia. They advocated a policy of "Bolivia for the Bolivians."

On December 20 the Estensoro group, with the support of the army, overthrew Penaranda, and set up a government, with Major Gualberto Villarroll as president. The new leaders promised not to change Bolivia's foreign policy. They speak as if they will keep the country in the war against the Axis. But when we remember the Axis leanings of these leaders, and their close associations with the fascists who rule Argentina, we cannot be sure of their continued loyalty to the Allied cause.

### What Can We Do?

But what can we do about it? For one thing we can withhold recognition of the new government until we are sure it is not pro-Axis in policy. It would be better if we could act in cooperation with the Latin American republics in deciding upon recognition.

A suggestion comes from Uruguay, one of the most democratic of the Latin American nations, that a joint commission be set up, representing all the American republics which are at war with the Axis or which have broken relations with the Axis powers. This would include all the American countries except Argentina. This commission would decide whether the American republics should recognize the new Bolivian government, and also any government which might be set up as a result of revolution in any American nation.

This might be a very effective procedure, for if a government anywhere in the Americas is not recognized as a legal government by the

neighboring nations it can scarcely exist long. Such a plan might prevent future fascist revolutions. If strong and united action of this kind is not taken, fascist revolutions, inspired by Argentina and perhaps even by the Nazis, may overthrow the pro-Allied governments in several South American nations.

### SMILES



"For two dollars you wish you'd never been born; for five you can hardly wait for tomorrow." PETERS IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

Father: "I'll be glad to help you with your homework, son."

Son (skeptically): "Thanks, but I might as well get it wrong by myself."

—SELECTED

Captain: "I hope the next time I see you, you'll be a second lieutenant."

Private (flustered): "Yes, sir. Thank you, sir. The same to you, sir."

—SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Diner: "Waiter, I've found a button in my salad!"

Waiter: "Yes, sir, that's part of the dressing."

—BALANCE SHEET

"Did you hear the story about the dirty windshield?"

"No."

"It's just as well. You couldn't see through it."

—SELECTED

The girl sitting next to a famous scientist at a dinner asked, "Tell me, what do you with your time?"

"I study astronomy," replied the gentleman.

"At your age? Why, I finished astronomy last year."

—SELECTED

Stranger: "I've come out here to make an honest living."

Native: "Well, there's not much competition."

—SELECTED

"Back from the holidays, eh? Feel any change?"

"Not a penny."

—SELECTED

"I've lost the quarter teacher gave for the best boy in the class," wailed the little fellow.

"Never mind," said his uncle. "Here's another quarter. But how did you come to lose it?"

"Because I wasn't the best boy."

—SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Judge: "Last time you were here, I told you I never wanted to see you again."

Prisoner: "That's what I told the cop, but he insisted on bringing me here."

—LABOR

# Political Campaign Gets Under Way

(Continued from page 1)

his war policies and his position on international issues, he would be very strong with the American public. The Republicans would find it very hard to make a campaign against him on these issues.

In the case of domestic issues, the situation is reversed. There is a great deal of discontent about the way things are going on the home front. There is widespread complaint that the various governmental agencies are not handled well. There is dissatisfaction about price control, rationing, and other home front activities. There are charges that the Roosevelt administration has not handled labor troubles firmly. Many people are worried about the control the government is exercising over business, about the hold it is getting on the economic life of the nation. There is a general feeling that this exercise of governmental power may be necessary during the war, but there is some suspicion that, if the President were retained in office and if he held to the philosophy of the so-called "New Deal," these governmental controls might be continued after the war.

These various complaints and suspicions add up to a strong revolt against the domestic policies of the Roosevelt administration—policies which were so popular during the 1930's that the President was able to carry nearly all the states in the 1936 election and to be reelected for a third term in 1940. The congressional election of 1942, which was fought out largely on domestic issues, showed decisive Republican gains, and off-year elections and polls of opinion indicate that, on these issues, much of the President's prewar strength has been lost.

Under these circumstances, it is natural that the President should wish to direct public attention to his war record and that the Republicans should insist upon fighting the campaign on domestic issues. It is natural that the Republicans should cast aspersions upon the New Deal and that they should arouse suspicions as to what the New Dealers might do to American industry and to free enterprise after the war. It is understandable that the President should wish to remove the New Deal label from his administration.

In passing judgment on the New Deal, one must keep in mind the specific measures which have been enacted into law during the Roosevelt administration and which, together, make up the New Deal program, and also the general purpose or philosophy back of this mass of legislation. In general spirit and method, the New Deal exhibits these characteristics:

1. Its sympathies are with the poorer sections of the population, with the third or more of Americans who, in normal times, are said to be "ill fed, ill clad, and ill housed." New Dealers have shown concern for laborers and farmers rather than for manufacturers and merchants. Opponents of the New Deal charge that it is actively hostile toward the wealthy classes, though supporters of the movement deny that assertion.
2. The New Deal stands for greater activity on the part of the federal

government than has been customary in American politics. Whenever conditions of any kind are seen to be bad, New Dealers have had a tendency to say that the government should step in and do something about it.

3. The New Deal has sought to accomplish its objectives through heavy expenditures of money by the government.

These general purposes find expression in a mass of legislation which was put on the statute books during the first two Roosevelt terms. A few examples follow: When, during the depression, millions of men and

good and should be retained. He challenges opponents to name any of the acts they would like to repeal. If they demand the repeal of any of them, he will fight to prevent their accomplishing that purpose. If, however, these New Deal acts are now accepted, the President says, let us quit talking about them and turn our attention to the immediate problems of winning the war and of establishing peace and security after the war.

President Roosevelt's position is challenged by Republicans and also by conservative Democrats, who do not like the New Deal any more than

business enterprise. Despite the fact that certain good laws have been enacted, this practice of the government has hurt business and has prevented the return of sound prosperity. It has been dangerous in the past and will continue to be so. Not only has the government competed with business but it has generally been hostile to business enterprise. It has favored labor at the expense of employers and to the detriment of the public. One result of this policy is the dangerous labor demands which are threatening war production today.



UNITED STATES CAPITOL—Symbol of democracy. Politics will play an important role in the present session of Congress.

women were unemployed, the Roosevelt administration put the government into the business of furnishing jobs to men who could not find employment in private industry. The government took up the matter of wages and hours, prescribing a limit to the number of hours which might be worked in a week and fixing a lower limit on the wages which might be paid. Laws were passed compelling employers to recognize and work with labor unions. When farm prices were very low, the government took a hand in the matter and went so far as to specify the amount of various crops farmers should produce. Social security laws were put on the statute books. These laws provided for unemployment insurance, old-age benefits, and care, at the expense of the government, of the crippled and blind. When banks were failing, the government insured and guaranteed the safety of deposits. The government took direct action to supply better housing for the poor. In many cases, it tore down slums and constructed or assisted in the construction of low-cost, low-rent dwellings. The government provided means whereby farm tenants could buy farms on long-term payments.

These are a few specific legislative acts which gave expression to the New Deal idea. The President defends this legislation. He says it is

the Republicans do. These opponents of the President in the main refuse to accept his challenge to name the acts of his administration which they wish to repeal. For the most part, Republicans and conservative Democrats are not advocating the scrapping of many of these specific measures. There is, for example, no general movement for doing away with the social security laws, the guarantee of bank deposits, or most of the other important New Deal measures. It is generally recognized that much of that program is here to stay, though there are many suggestions for amendments. The President's position is undeniably strong in that he can point to an impressive list of measures, new to American politics, which were fought bitterly at the time of their enactment but which have now become generally accepted.

The case against the President and the New Dealers has, however, gained great strength. It is frequently stated in this way: The Roosevelt administration, in carrying out the New Deal philosophy, has caused the government to interfere too much with business. In certain cases, it has competed with private enterprise. For example, through the Tennessee Valley Authority, it has put the government into the business of producing electric power. This governmental competition and interference discourage

It means nothing, it is argued, for the President to scrap the New Deal label, for, so long as he and his present supporters are in power, the New Deal spirit will prevail. The government will continue to expand its activities. This will be especially dangerous in the period following the war. As one example of the dangers which will then be faced, reference is made to the fact that the government, as a war measure, has constructed hundreds of factories and plants all over the country. It owns today a large share of American industry and a huge proportion of the tools and equipment used in industry. If the New Dealers are in power after the war, even though they do not use the New Deal label, the government is likely to keep in its possession a great part of its holdings. New Dealers are already advocating that it retain aluminum plants, steel mills, and equipment in other industries so that it can compete with private industry and thus regulate prices and operating conditions. If the New Dealers are retained in power, it is said, private industry will be so crippled after the war that it cannot operate successfully, and we will go far in the direction of socialism.

President Roosevelt's opponents argue further that, though many

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# The Story of the Week

## Industrial Strife

Despite the fact that American workers are breaking all records for production, there is no question that strikes are becoming increasingly serious to the war effort. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals that in October, 1943, there were 290 strikes, involving 215,000 workers and 975,000 man-days of idleness. In November, the coal strike raised these totals to 300 strikes, 500,000 workers, and 2,825,000 man-days of idleness. Although exact figures for December have not yet been released, indications are that in each category, the numbers were even larger.

The most serious crisis of all, of course, was averted when President Roosevelt prevented a railway strike by placing the roads under government control and operation until the labor troubles in that industry are ironed out. It is generally agreed that any interference with railway transportation at a time such as this is unthinkable.

While everyone realizes the seriousness and danger involved in the growing discontent among the nation's workers, there is a difference of opinion as to the causes and responsibility for this state of affairs. Critics of businessmen and industrialists place much of the blame on these two groups, contending that they are receiving swollen profits out of the war and yet many of them oppose higher taxes, lower prices, or any other plan to reduce their excessive earnings. Workers, it is claimed, know that not only the country but their employers are benefiting as a result of labor's greatly expanded output. Thus, workers are determined to share to a larger extent from their increased efforts and toil.

Others place the chief blame on labor union leaders, charging them with having stirred up workers to the point that they are willing to jeopardize the war effort in order to gain personal advantage. It is contended that most organized workers—those belonging to powerful unions—are actually better off today than they were before the war began, and yet it is these workers (not the unorganized ones who have really suffered from rising prices) who continue to make excessive wage de-



IN THE GILBERTS. The wreckage of a Japanese four-engine flying boat lies beached in a lagoon at Makin Island, where it was undergoing repairs and was bombed by Allied planes as American forces prepared to land on the island.

mands which, if granted, can lead only to higher prices all along the line.

President Roosevelt and Congress also come in for their share of criticism. The President is charged with having failed, early in the war, to hold the line against wage advances and that, as a consequence, both wages and prices got out of hand as a result. Others accuse Congress of blocking attempts to hold the cost of living down, thus giving workers good reason to demand higher wages.

It is a fact that the government, both the legislative and executive branches, has failed to adopt a consistent and forceful policy in preventing undue wage and price increases. It has done far better in this respect than did the government in power at the time of the First World War. Unless both the President and Congress take a firm and courageous stand from this point on, however, there is real danger that the line of resistance against inflationary forces may give way, with serious consequences for the nation.

## Nazi Naval Losses

When the British Royal Navy sank the battleship *Scharnhorst* off the coast of Norway, it destroyed one of the last survivors of a once great German fleet. According to the latest information, the Nazis have only two major vessels capable of active duty, and both of these are in hiding. The *Tirpitz*, seriously damaged last fall, is believed still undergoing repairs in Norway. The *Gneisenau*, sister ship to the *Scharnhorst*, is reported to have been so badly damaged in its spectacular dash up the English Channel that it has been converted to use as a training ship.

The first important naval action of the war in 1939 ended with the scuttling of the *Admiral Graf Spee* off South America. In 1941, the

*Bismarck* went down in the Atlantic. The other great ships which gave Germany her sea power are all reported in Baltic ports, so seriously shattered that they hold little threat for the rest of the war.

The *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* were the first big battleships built in defiance of the Versailles Treaty's armament limitations. Since February, 1942, when they slipped out of Brest and escaped up the English Channel to home waters, the *Scharnhorst* has been active mainly in harassing Allied shipping along the Arctic route to Russia.

## Partisan Gains

Even though the Nazis have thrown more men and weapons into their struggle against the fighting forces of Yugoslavia, they are continuing to meet with increasing, rather than diminishing, resistance. The Partisan armies, under the leadership of General Tito, have, at the time of this writing, repelled the determined efforts of the German invaders to crush them once and for all.

Thus, unless the tide of battle in this area suddenly changes, there is a good chance that not only will the Partisan forces continue fighting until the time comes for the Allies to invade the Balkans, but that they will have sufficient territory under their control so as to make it relatively easy for the Allied armies to establish themselves in Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, England and the United States are increasing their aid to General Tito as rapidly as they can. A short time ago, a Partisan mission met the Anglo-American staffs in Cairo to plan the further progress of the Balkan campaign against the Germans. It is reported that a chain of small boats crossing the Adriatic now connects the Partisans with supplies from Italy. Just which Yugoslav ports the Partisans control, ports to which Allied supplies are delivered, we do not know, but apparently they are in possession of part of the coastline adjacent to the Adriatic.

There is still hope that the Chetniks, led by General Mikhailovitch, will come to terms with their fighting countrymen, the Partisans. These two groups, both fighting the Ger-

mans but also each other, could be far more effective against the Nazi invader if they would work together. Young King Peter of Yugoslavia, although strongly in favor of the Chetniks, appears to be trying to unite the two groups. He is now issuing joint communiques which imply that the Partisans and Chetniks are fighting for the same cause.

## Arrests in Algiers

Five noted Frenchmen, accused of crimes against their country, are now in an Algerian prison. The group includes a former premier of the Third Republic, two former ministers of the Vichy government, a former French deputy, and the one-time governor general of French West Africa.

Pierre-Etienne Flandin was premier of France in 1935, when Hitler first told the world that he was conscripting a new German army in violation of the Versailles Treaty. Flandin was one of the French conservatives who, fearing radical tendencies among their own people, saw hope in Hitler's method of subduing the people. Flandin, it is charged, refused to answer the German challenge by building up French military strength or standing by the League of Nations. Later, he congratulated Hitler on his success at Munich. Now the Committee of National Liberation accuses him of collaboration with the enemy.

Marcel Peyrouton, Vichy interior minister, is accused of suppressing pro-Allied groups in France. Pierre Boisson, governor general of French West Africa at the time of the Allied invasion, is held because of his re-



INVASION LEADERS. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander-in-chief of the coming invasion, and Lt. General Carl Spaatz, who will command the entire American strategic bombing force against Germany.

fusal to turn Dakar over to the Allied expeditionary force. The other two men now imprisoned are Pierre Tixier-Vignancourt, former information chief of the Vichy government, and Andre Albert, once a member of the Chamber of Deputies. Both are accused of aiding the enemy against the United Nations.

## Invasion Lineup

The last important details on the Allied blueprint for invasion of Europe are now filled in. Newly appointed commanders are at their posts, and only the time and place of the blow remain to be seen.

The man to lead the gigantic operations ahead, as is well known, will be General Dwight D. Eisenhower.



The Yugoslav front

with Air Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder as his assistant. Commander of British and American air arms will be Air Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory, one of the men responsible for Germany's defeat in the Battle of Britain. His deputy for the American air forces will be General James H. Doolittle, leader of the famous raid on Tokyo.

Naval operations for the invasion are to be in the hands of Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsey. Ramsey, known as "Dynamo," brought British troops across the English Channel in the historic Dunkirk retreat. To his credit also is the success of the North African landings in 1942. Britain's Eighth Army commander, General Sir Bernard L. Montgomery, has been assigned to lead British ground troops. American strategic bombing of Germany is to be under the direction of General Carl A. Spaatz.

British General Sir Henry Maitland-Wilson is to succeed General Eisenhower in the Mediterranean theater, with General Jacob L. Devers as his deputy. Commanding Allied air units in this area will be General Ira Eaker. Vice Admiral Sir John Cunningham will lead the naval arm. Command of Allied forces in Italy has been turned over to General Sir Harold Alexander, and in the Middle East to General Sir Bernard Paget.

### Renegotiations

In recent months, "renegotiation" has become a fighting word to both manufacturers and government officials. The controversy now hanging over this word reflects a serious wartime problem.

When the defense program was first getting under way, starting the flow of war goods was everyone's first concern. Even if exact costs of making new items could not be predetermined, it was vital that contracts be let without delay.

So it was that the renegotiation procedure was arranged. The idea was that contracts would be given out by the Army and Navy on the best basis possible. Then, when the work was finished, if it turned out that the early arrangement was unfair to the government, the contract could be renegotiated on a fairer basis.

The Army and Navy feel that the process has been working well. Undersecretary of War Patterson points out that renegotiation has brought back more than five billion dollars to the government. But certain manufacturers object that no standards have been agreed upon for renegotiation. No one knows at exactly what



AN ITALIAN SOLDIER, wounded in the fierce fighting against his former allies, the Germans, is carried along the road to a dressing station.

point profits become "excessive," and the government negotiator has full power to set the profit level wherever he sees fit. This, many manufacturers say, opens the way for discrimination and mismanagement.

Army and Navy officials deny that they are being unfair in renegotiating the war contracts. They insist that manufacturers are permitted to make a reasonable profit. The profit records of corporations holding war contracts, it is argued, prove that they are not being treated unjustly.

### Cold Cure?

Finding a really effective remedy for the common cold is a problem which has baffled scientists for many years. Now, however, it looks as if the mold which produces penicillin may hold the answer to the cold problem as well. Experiments on patulin, a powerful new drug derived from mold, show that in many cases it produces a complete cold cure and that in many others, it brings effective temporary relief.

Because the drug is so strong, it cannot be taken internally like penicillin or sulfa drugs. For cold relief it is used as a nasal spray. Scientists are still experimenting with its cold curing properties. While they cannot claim 100 per cent effectiveness for the drug, they point out that with even 20 per cent effectiveness it would be far better than any cold treatment now in use.

The next step is to put patulin on the market. Its chemical properties are already known. As soon as molecular structure is discovered, manufacturers will be able to produce it in quantity without the trouble and expense of deriving it from mold cultures.

### Franco's Position

When the United States entered the present war, Spain, under General Franco, was a nonbelligerent, but one whose Axis sympathies were easily apparent. Franco was running his country in the approved fascist pattern of dictatorship. Abroad, his troops were fighting with Hitler's in Russia and his agents were working against the Allied cause in South America.

But Franco is starting the new year in a slightly different vein. Most of the Blue Division which fought in Russia has been recalled to Spain. The Spanish government now emphasizes its neutrality, making an ef-

### News in Brief

Ever since their first appearance, the steel pennies have been a source of irritation to the American public. Looking more like dimes than their own copper counterparts, they started an endless routine of change difficulties for bus drivers and storekeepers. But at last the end is in sight. Although the 700,000,000 already in circulation will not be withdrawn, no new steel pennies are to be minted.

Until two years ago, the Navy had no official group to take care of what the engineers do for the Army. But as the threat of war increased its construction needs—its needs for airfields, docks, hospitals, and barracks at advanced bases—the Navy planned a small force of Construction Battalions. Today that force has become famous as the "Seabees" and has reached a strength of 262,000 men.

A little known part of our postwar planning is that which the Department of Interior is doing for the United States' island possessions, all of which have experienced severe dislocations since the war began. Secretary of the Interior Harold L.



Government of the pressure  
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Ickes has just revealed that his department has blueprints ready for restoring education and industry, health and housing facilities to the Philippines. It is also working out plans for easing others of our territories—such as Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands—from war to peacetime operations.

### POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

(Concluded from page 3)

laws, good of themselves, have been enacted in his administration, they have been poorly or unfairly administered. The charge that the President is a poor administrator is certain to be emphasized during the coming campaign.

The strategy of the presidential campaign is already fairly clear. The Roosevelt administration, while stoutly defending its record in domestic policy, will try to center attention upon its record in the conduct of the war and upon international policies. Republicans will keep hammering away at domestic issues. They will undertake to establish the fact that, whether the label is retained or not, the essence of the New Deal will remain and that it endangers American stability and prosperity.

### The American Observer

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Getting Dizzy  
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES DISPATCH

## Home Front Leaders

WITHIN the next few days President Roosevelt will send to Congress his annual message on the state of the union. It is expected that he will have much to say about the serious home front crisis, which has been growing in intensity in recent weeks, and which has troubled the President greatly since his return from Teheran and Cairo. The renewed menace of inflation, the attack on subsidies, the struggle for new taxes, the demand for higher wages and prices, the fight against renegotiation, and the constant threats of strikes in war industries—these are the underlying problems which together have created the crisis now facing home front leaders.

H. & E.  
James F. ByrnesACME  
Fred M. Vinson

The President can only temporarily turn his attention to these domestic problems—his time is too much taken with matters of strategy and post-war planning. For the long pull the home front is commanded by trusted lieutenants. Here is a brief sketch of some of the most important of these leaders and the agencies they control:

Chief czar at the very top is James F. Byrnes, who heads the Office of War Mobilization. This overall organization was created late last May to coordinate the war on the home front. Mr. Byrnes is responsible directly to the President, and in turn he exercises great control over all the other "czars" in the government.

Mr. Byrnes' job is to assure that the nation's natural and industrial resources are mobilized most effectively, and to see that the nation's civilian economy is maintained and stabilized. He also unifies the activities of all the federal agencies and departments concerned with production, procurement, distribution, or transportation of military and civilian supplies, and settles controversies between these agencies.

A former senator and associate justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Byrnes commands great respect in Congress, among executive officials, and with the public. He is 64, and is a native of South Carolina. His experience in Congress has enabled him to get along exceptionally well with that body at a time when the administration is anything but popular there. An expert student of human relations, Byrnes is a skilled compromiser when necessary, but he has also shown that he can fight hard and effectively to achieve his major goals.

Working directly under Byrnes is Fred M. Vinson, head of the Office of Economic Stabilization. While Byrnes' job is concerned with all home front problems, including war production and the assigning of munitions, Vinson is concerned with the single major problem of stabilizing the cost of living, of curbing inflation,

and preventing the dislocations which result from inflation. This of course gives Vinson power in many fields, such as food, manpower, labor, transportation, rubber, oil, and price control.

Mr. Vinson is authorized to carry out a national economic policy concerning control of civilian purchasing power, prices, rents, wages, salaries, profits, rationing, subsidies, and other matters for preventing avoidable increases in the cost of living. Specifically, Vinson rather than Byrnes settles all controversies between agencies over agricultural prices and wage increases which affect price ceilings.

A native of Kentucky, Mr. Vinson is almost 54. He is a former congressman and was a federal judge before taking his present job last May. He is a lawyer with wide experience in the field of taxation. Vinson was noted as a hard fighter long before he tackled inflation, and many private interest groups who have been unable to break his resolute stand against higher wages and prices can testify that he has not changed.

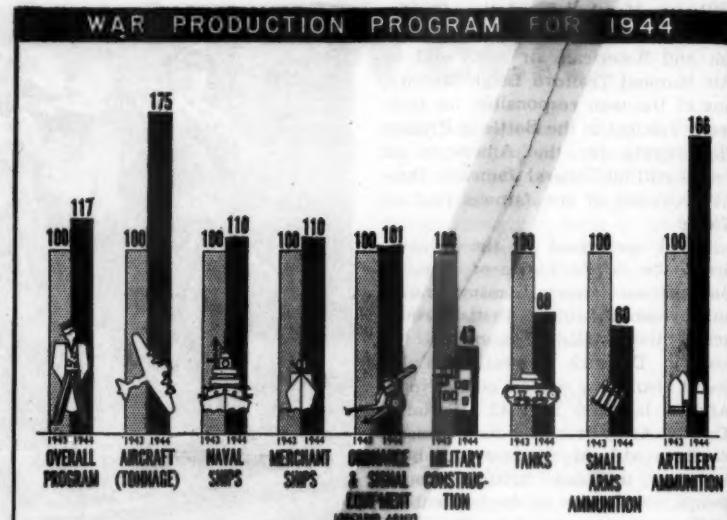
Chester B. Bowles joined the Office of Price Administration last July as "general manager," but from the start he practically ran the agency and he now is full administrator. Working under Vinson, his job is to enforce the price-control act. His agency sets maximum prices and rents, operates the rationing program, and works to prevent speculation, profiteering, and hoarding.

Mr. Bowles is a native of Connecticut and is 42. He was an advertising executive before taking over in OPA. Fortunately he has been more popular than his predecessors, and has therefore been able to carry out more effectively the administration's program of price control.

In the field of wage control, two agencies have authority. William H. Davis, 64-year-old chairman of the War Labor Board, works directly under Mr. Vinson in controlling adjustment of most wages and salaries under \$5,000 a year. The Treasury Department controls all salaries of professional, executive, and administrative positions, and all salaries over \$5,000.

The WLB also acts as the final arbiter in settling wartime labor disputes. If direct negotiations break down between employer and employees, and if the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor then finds itself incapable of reaching a solution, then WLB takes over. The board consists of 12 members, four each representing labor, management, and the public.

Davis is one of the finest mediators in the United States, with a long record of success in settling strikes and disputes. His chief attributes for

Donald M. Nelson WPA  
Charles E. Wilson WPS

this job are a brilliant mind, a calm, unruffled nature, a keen sense of humor, and unlimited patience.

In the field of war production, Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, is key man, responsible directly to War Mobilization Director Byrnes. His agency is the final outgrowth of the confusing, troublesome days of the NDAC, the OPM, and the SPAB. This week, as WPB celebrates its second anniversary, it can look back with pride on the tremendous job it has all but completed; incompetence, inefficiency, and obstacles of all sorts have been overcome, and now, as one observer puts it, "the arsenal of democ-

Chester B. Bowles H. & E.  
Bernard M. Baruch H. & E.

racy has become one long, clangy assembly line, throwing off the weapons of death in unbelievable quantities."

The job of WPB has been to insure a maximum production of war munitions, by directing the orderly mobilization and use of the economic resources of the nation. WPB controls the purchase and allocation of all kinds of strategic materials and sees that they get to the proper producers at the proper time. It has directed and financed the conversion and expansion of peace industry to war industry. It lets contracts, establishes specifications, and sets up priority ratings.

Now 55, Nelson is a top executive of Sears, Roebuck, and Company. A quiet, patient man, he has established a fine record as an efficient businessman. In recent months much of his time has been spent determining broad policy and in foreign conferences, such as his recent trip to Moscow. Most of the actual operating details have been in the hands of the executive vice-chairman of WPB, 57-year-old Charles Wilson, to whom much of the credit goes for the smooth running of war production today.

Wilson left a \$175,000 job as president of General Electric to come to

Washington. Having worked his way up in industry from the very bottom, he knows what makes production tick, and he has been expert at slashing through politics and red tape. One of his biggest jobs has been to make flying trips to war plants to straighten out manpower problems.

The enormous problem of reconversion—from war back to peace production—has been dropped in the lap of Bernard M. Baruch, America's "Elder Statesman," who directed war production in World War I and has been an invaluable adviser to officials high and low in this war. Baruch is now 73, but he still is exceedingly vigorous and keen-minded.

His present job is twofold: (1) to see that only those war materials are produced which are needed, so that labor and materials may be saved for civilian production; and (2) to work out plans for smooth cancellation of war contracts and transition to a peacetime economy.

Modern war could not be fought for one minute without large supplies of oil. No one knows this better than Petroleum Administrator Harold L. Ickes, whose job (in addition to bossing the gigantic Interior Department and acting as Coordinator of Solid Fuels) is to assure adequate supplies of petroleum for military and essential civilian users, and to work at the same time to conserve this valuable resource.

William H. Davis H. & E.  
Harold L. Ickes H. & E.

At the present time, Ickes is greatly concerned because this country is so rapidly exhausting its oil, and he is strongly urging that the United States secure control over oil resources in the Middle East. Ickes is a peppery, scrappy fighter, who has almost never been known to compromise. But his integrity is unsailable, as at the age of 69 he is still perhaps the most efficient administrator in Washington. If anyone can safeguard the nation's depleting supply of petroleum, that man is Harold Ickes.

# Tempo of War in the Pacific Increases

(Concluded from page 1)

we are now in a position to move against the "inner and more important bastions." These "inner and more important bastions" must be taken before we can come to decisive grips with the Japanese.

It must be remembered that we are following not a single road to Tokyo but several roads. From the southwest Pacific, General MacArthur's men are making brilliant success against the Japanese. It was in this region that the first steps in the offensive against Japan were taken, with our attack on Guadalcanal in August 1942. Since then we have taken other key positions in the Solomons, have driven Japan from vital bases in New Guinea, have made landings on New Britain Island.

Fifteen hundred miles to the northeast, other American forces have taken the Gilbert Islands and are now pounding the Marshalls, both of which groups are vital Japanese defense positions in the central Pacific area. When the Marshalls are taken, we will have removed the Japanese threat to our supply lines to the southwest Pacific and will have placed under our control a large part of the central Pacific area.

Another front is located in southeast Asia, where Lord Louis Mountbatten is preparing an offensive into Burma. Finally, there is the Chinese front itself, where during recent weeks the Chinese have won a number of important battles.

Action on all these fronts—and probably blows from the north, from our bases in the Aleutians—will be greatly intensified before we are able to close in on Japan. One of the important features of the campaign during 1944 will be to reduce the Japanese outposts in the Pacific in order that we may have bases closer at hand from which to wage naval and air attacks.

The map on this page shows only a few of the islands under Japan's control and does not bring into clear emphasis the distances. In the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas, there are some 1,500 islands. The Carolines themselves extend over an area of more than 2,000 miles. From the recently captured Gilberts to the Japanese fortress at Truk, one of the two strongholds in the Carolines, is 1,485 miles. From the Marshalls to Truk is 1,240 miles. The distance from Rabaul, Japan's key base in the southwest Pacific which is MacArthur's next objective in that region, to Truk is 798 miles. It is nearly 2,500 miles from Rabaul to the Philippines, one of our objectives in the Pacific war.

Other important bastions of Japan in the Pacific are the Marianas Islands and the Bonins. Guam, one of the Marianas, which was taken from us early in the war, lies 635 miles northeast of Truk and more than 1,500 miles east of the Philippines.

Certainly we will not have to take or reduce all of Japan's island fortresses, but a good many of them will have to be rendered ineffective if the road to Tokyo is to be made secure. Rabaul, for example, must be destroyed as a naval and air base if our position in the southwest Pacific is to be safe. That destruction is now going on by pounding from the air.



Grand strategy of the naval campaign in the Pacific.

N. Y. TIMES

It is generally agreed that Truk, with its air bases and facilities to shelter the entire Japanese fleet, must be either captured or knocked out. Probably we shall have to gain a foothold in the Marianas, say at Guam, to protect ourselves from attacks from that sector.

Nor will it be an easy matter to dislodge Japan from these fortresses. She has spent years fortifying some of them, although many of them, including the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas, were given to her as mandates under the League of Nations. They were fortified against all agreements and pledges made not to use them as military bases.

It appears likely that General MacArthur will push toward the Philippines as soon as possible. That may well be the next objective after Rabaul and Truk have been made useless as enemy bases. Whether MacArthur, by using land, sea, and air forces, will be able to retake the Philippines alone, or whether the attack will be timed to receive support from the central Pacific theater will be known only as events unfold.

The Philippines are important for two reasons. First, if we drive the Japanese from these islands, we will be in a position to shut off supplies from Japan to the southern lands she has conquered. We would control the routes southward and thus make it practically impossible for Japan to send ships to the Nether-

lands Indies, Malaya, and her other southern possessions. The second important advantage of retaking the Philippines would be their value as a base to future operations against Japan. If, indeed, it is our objective to reopen a port in southern China, the Philippines offer the best advantages for preparing and launching the attack in that direction. They are also so located as to make possible a direct sea and air attack upon Japan proper, if timed with offensive moves from other directions.

Our strategy in the Pacific thus includes far more than "island hopping," although that has been and will continue to be a part of it until we have made secure the ocean routes over which our transports and supply ships must travel. There will indeed be "island hopping" until we make a hop to the islands of Japan proper. But in the process, we will be taking those outposts which are as essential to the defense of Japan as Hawaii and other island bases are to the protection of the United States.

Measured in terms of distances, Tokyo is still a long way off. It is 3,000 miles from the Gilberts. It is nearly 3,000 miles from the island of New Britain to Tokyo. Even in the Philippines, we will be a thousand miles from Tokyo, and from Truk we will have to travel more than two thousand. But distances are but one of the factors to be considered in weighing military advantages and in determining strategy.

Far more important is the striking power which can be brought to bear against the enemy, and we are mounting a formidable force for the showdown.

The war in the Pacific has thus far consisted largely of a holding operation, of preventing the Japanese from extending her power to Australia, and of beginning the arduous task of pushing her back. But it has also consisted of a war of attrition, of slowly whittling down Japan's ability to wage war. Japan must have naval and air strength and we have dealt mighty blows at both. While we have not yet succeeded in engaging the main body of the Japanese fleet in battle, we have destroyed segments of her navy in numerous engagements in the southwest and central Pacific. Her air force has taken a heavy beating. Moreover, our land forces have shown their ability, in every contest which has taken place, from Guadalcanal to Tarawa and the battles on New Britain, to outfight the Japanese soldiers.

The decisive battles in the Pacific war are yet to come. Where they will be fought we do not know. But we do know that with each passing month our strength will grow and Japan's will diminish. On the Asiatic mainland, and in the southwest and central Pacific we are gathering the men and ships and planes and other materials which will bring Japan to her knees.

## Facts About Magazines

### United States News

THE United States News is a somewhat specialized version of the *Time* or *Newsweek* type of magazine. Like them, it is a weekly magazine of news interpretation. Its distinctive feature is concentration on the national scene. Although the *United States News* carries fine features on the war and international events affecting this country, its policy is to relate the major part of its discussion to the United States.

One of the capital's leading journalists is the guiding force behind this publication—its founder and present editor, David Lawrence. Lawrence, whose career has been discussed in an earlier issue of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, has a record of 33 years as a Washington editor, reporter, and commentator.

It was 1926 when Lawrence first branched out into the editorial field. In that year, he and a group of associates launched a newspaper called the *United States Daily*. This paper, devoted to factual reports of the federal government's activities, was designed as a political index for businessmen.

As the *United States Daily* developed, the scope of its coverage was gradually enlarged. Reports on the doings of state governments were added, and finally, Editor Lawrence decided to change the publication into an interpretive weekly. In 1933, the *United States News* succeeded the *Daily*. It was very like its predecessor, even retaining the newspaper form.

Early in 1940, the newspaper format was dropped in favor of the present magazine layout. The change coincided with a marked upswing in the popularity of the *United States News*. Until 1940, its circulation had

been around 90,000. After that date, circulation climbed to 200,000.

Behind its bright red, white, and blue cover, which features headlines of the week's outstanding developments and color photographs of the personalities involved in them, the *United States News* carries some of the best articles on current national problems to be found in the magazine field. These articles are distinguished by the fact that they are intensive studies of particular questions—pre-

senting and explaining all of the factors related to them—rather than overall surveys.

Most of these are included under the heading of "The National Week." This section includes five or six articles, running to one or two pages. Since the beginning of the war, military strategy and diplomatic affairs have been prominently featured among them. Always, these are accompanied by excellent pictures, charts, or other illustrations.

As an example of how the *United States News* chooses its feature material and how it treats its topics, a recent issue contained an article on Army discipline. Starting off with an incident in the news, it outlined the prevailing methods of discipline in the American Army. Then it contrasted these with the methods of foreign nations—both our enemies and our allies. A brief history of discipline in the American Army was given, and finally, the article showed how our techniques worked and what kind of attitudes they built up among the fighting men.

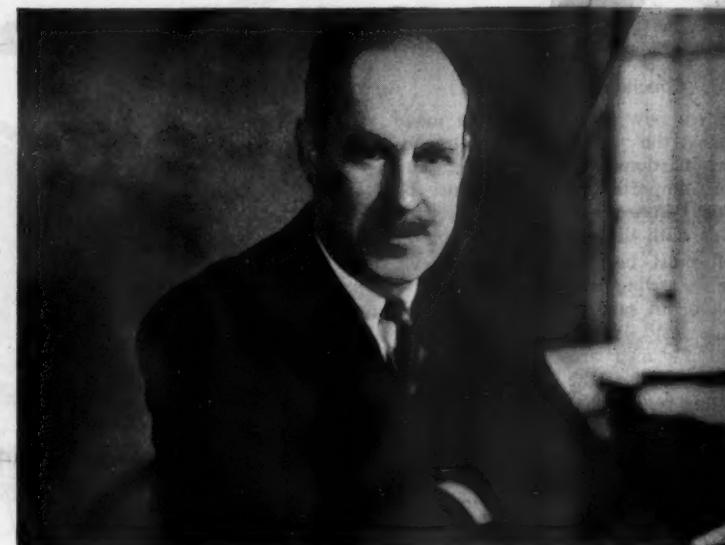
The *United States News* regularly features other smaller departments. One page outlines "The President's Week," while another analyzes "The Labor Week." There are also sections on "The Finance Week," "Inter-America Week," and "People of the Week." The last is a series of short personality sketches.

Two other *United States News* specialties are the "Pictogram" and the "Special Report." The "Pictogram" is a two-page spread in which some current problem is explained by means of a large picture diagram. A brief text comments upon its meaning. The "Special Report" is an account of intensive staff research on a topic of national importance. American shipping and the government's role as a wartime property holder are among the subjects analyzed recently under this heading.

The *United States News* prides itself upon the objectivity of its presentations. A number of special sections, designed to line up arguments on both sides of controversial issues, give a rounded picture of questions of the day.

Like *Newsweek*, the *United States News* has a series of prediction features and special news items of interest to businessmen. "The March of the News," "Newsline for Businessmen," "Tomorrow: A Look Ahead," and "Washington Whispers" are some of these. The magazine also offers a page of explanation of a question of interest to businessmen and the general public. Taxes and renegotiation of contracts and subsidies are examples of the type of material handled in this section.

David Lawrence regularly keynotes the magazine's policies in his two-page editorial for the *United States News*. His point of view is a conservative one in regard to economic questions, but strongly internationalist in relation to our dealings with other countries.



Drew Pearson

### Subject of Controversy

## Columnist Drew Pearson

WHEN qualities of daring, showmanship, and real journalistic ability are combined in a newspaperman, they are almost certain to add up to a successful career. In the case of Drew Pearson, radio commentator and author of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round," a widely syndicated newspaper column, they have produced something sensational. In the 20-odd years since he left college, Pearson has traveled all over the world; he has talked to most of the leading figures of our time; he has turned in a record number of exclusive stories. He has won a nation-wide reputation.

But this reputation has two sides. Millions of people who eagerly absorb the pronouncements of his column and his radio program consider Pearson an outstanding reporter—outstanding because of the way he never hesitates to bring any story before the public. On the other hand, there are legions of editors, sponsors, and public officials who consider him a sensationalist—a man who will disregard any consideration, however serious, in order to get a scoop.

Drew Pearson's career has been full of adventure. Finishing college in 1919, he set out immediately for Europe, where he intended to learn something about diplomacy. He wound up as director of War Relief in the Balkans for the British Red Cross.

A few years later, he was in the Far East, traveling up and down the China coast, visiting Japan, Siberia, and the Philippines. He spent part of a year lecturing in Australia and New Zealand.

After this venture, Pearson went back to Europe, where he fulfilled a roving assignment for a newspaper syndicate. Then there was an interlude of teaching at Columbia University; then another period of reporting in the Far East.

In 1926, Pearson went to work for David Lawrence's newly organized paper, the *United States Daily*. In the years that followed, he was often abroad, covering the international conferences of the period. In 1930, when he reported the revolution in Cuba, his work won him honorable mention for the Pugsley Award for the best journalistic project of the year.

Although so much of Pearson's time was spent outside the United States, he was in Washington long enough to get acquainted with Robert S. Allen, then head of the *Christian Science Monitor*'s capital bureau. In 1931 the two men collaborated on a book published anonymously as *Washington Merry-Go-Round*.

The book, a brisk summarization of the gossip and intrigue then current in the capital, caused great excitement. Public curiosity about the author or authors ran high. Finally Pearson and Allen were unmasked—and fired by their editors.

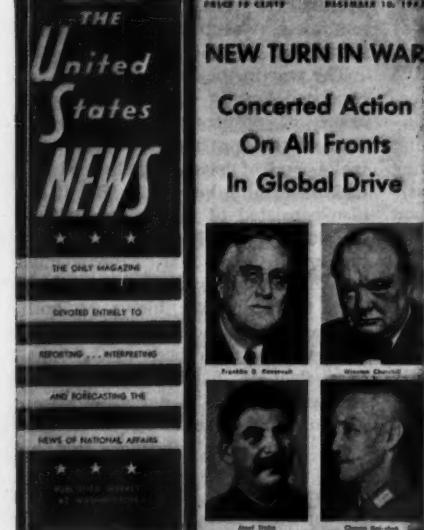
They decided to continue their collaboration and their work of showing the public the undercover workings of Washington. They chose a column as the best means of doing it. United Features Syndicate took over the column, which kept the book title of "Washington Merry-Go-Round."

Once the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" gained a foothold it was not long before the two collaborators became joint radio commentators. Their program was one of alternately delivered items of news and a final feature, "Predictions of Things to Come," in which the commentators prophesied coming developments on the political scene. Frequently, these predictions were not borne out by later developments, but they are always interesting.

It was the war which finally dissolved this famous team. Allen, a lieutenant in the First World War, returned to active service as a major, leaving Pearson to carry on both the column and the broadcast alone.

The first appearance of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" almost coincided with the beginning of President Roosevelt's administration. Pearson and Allen at the time were wholehearted New Dealers, and supported the President's policies enthusiastically.

Today Pearson stands with those who oppose the President from the left. His point of view most nearly coincides with the opinions of Vice-President Henry A. Wallace with regard to economic reforms at home and international cooperation abroad. Pearson's outspoken criticisms of present administration policies have added substantially to the list of enemies he has gathered.



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